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PREFACE

I HAVE tried to fashion an account of the Chiricahua Apache that will be real and convincing for readers of Western European extractions and traditions. Often the anthropologist begins with the reactions and behavior of the average adult of the culture he has studied. The descriptive details then seem so far removed from anything we, the products of another lifeway, know, that an atmosphere of exotic contrast is created, and the relevance of the material for us and for our problems fails to emerge.

Consequently, I have endeavored to show how a person becomes a Chiricahua as well as to indicate what he does because he is a Chiricahua. Events are introduced in the order in which they are experienced in the course of the normal Chiricahua Apache life-cycle. The attempt has been made to convey an appreciation of first awareness to the culture, of initial contacts with its precepts, of the steady pressure by which it shapes its carriers, and of the adjustments to its demands, obligations, and satisfactions which the individual accepts. I have sought in this manner to shift the emphasis from strange externals to more familiar and important processes and purposes. I have wanted the average Chiricahua to be an intelligible and sympathetic figure, not in the sense that the reader approves or disapproves all his ideas and actions, but in the sense that the reader understands what he has become in terms of what he has experienced. My principal concern in this book has been with what is socialized and not with personality differences. Consequently, materials pertaining to the individual as such are stressed only when it is important to show the range of variation which the culture permits at particular points.

To trace, painstakingly and sensitively, the introduction of an individual to the formal requirements and implications of his culture requires more than a superficial treatment. It was nec-

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•128 121 essary to make the study as "complete" as possible—not in any ethnologically utopian sense but in the practicable, attainable meaning of an inquiry many sided enough to satisfy the reader that no important aspect of thought or behavior had been left entirely unexplored.

Moreover, since it was the socialization of the Chiricahua which was to be examined, I felt that not only the sequence of events but the contexts in which they are placed should be faithful to the Chiricahua view. In order to keep the emphases as the participants feel them, it became necessary to separate items which might have been brought together by some other classification and to unite data which would have been scattered in response to a more conventional topical treatment. Thus, many varieties of religious experience have been introduced before any thorough explanation of religious ideology is attempted, simply because these impressions of the supernatural are communicated to the child long before he is in a position to rationalize their significance. Again, raid and warfare are subsumed under the maintenance of the household, not because of any notions of my own concerning the nature of these activities, but because, at the period described, the Chiricahua considered the raid a legitimate industry and trained faithfully for its proper fulfilment with this in mind.

It is my feeling that the most successful ethnographic study in terms of what it honestly establishes is the one in which the writer intrudes least upon the scene. It is a solemn responsibility to act as one of the few links between the world of letters and a way of life which has bounded the happiness and sorrow of thousands of individuals for hundreds of years. In determining how and when and where the basic understandings and persuasions ordinarily come to the individual consciousness, the primary source must be the testimony of the people involved. It has been part of my method, therefore, to describe the culture in its own terms, to employ the comments and explanations of informants wherever they seem pertinent. I have preferred to use my own observations as research leads by means of which to elicit descriptions and experiences from Chiricahua friends rather than to

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employ them as final statements. The picture of external movement is essential, but the attitudes and evaluations that surround overt behavior are quite as important. These imponderables of context the informant can best supply.

It is my hope that a volume which depicts the development of the individual in relation to society, which draws so heavily from source materials, and which emphasizes the functions of institutions in context will be of interest not only to professional anthropologists but also to educators, child psychologists, sociologists, and to all those sincerely concerned with the comprehension of the human scene. With this larger potential audience in mind, native words have been translated into English where this could be done and technical terms have been avoided.[1] Because Dr. Harry Hoijer will soon have available a Chiricahua Apache dictionary, no glossary is included. For specialists, kinship materials are given in an appendix. Native names, unpronounceable to the average reader in the original and often cumbersome in translation, have been reduced to initials. An additional reason for this is that many of the references are of an intimate or religious nature, and the information was often given with the understanding that identities be masked. Exceptions are made in the case of Geronimo and several other former leaders who have become historical figures. Summaries of legends and references to mythological subjects are based on my own collection where other sources are not acknowledged.

This volume, besides describing the aboriginal life of the Chiricahua, is the first of a series of monographs which will characterize and compare the cultures of four Apache tribes of the American Southwest and the adjoining region of Old Mexico—the Chiricahua, Mescalero, Lipan, and Jicarilla. I have gathered material, also, concerning the present status and adjustment of the Chiricahua Apache. But most of these people now share a reservation in New Mexico with the Mescalero Apache. Consequently, in order that the acculturation of the inhabitants of the Mescalero Reservation may be treated as the logical unit it is,

[1] For the few Chiricahua words retained, the orthography recommended in the *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4 (1934), has been followed.

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128 I am withholding most of my comparisons of the old and the new until the Mescalero Apache have been described as well.

122 In bringing this segment of the project to completion, my obligations to institutions and friends are many. The Department of Anthropology and the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago, the Council for Research in the Social Sciences of Columbia University, the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fe, the National Research Council, the Office of Indian Affairs, the Social Science Research Council, and the Southwest Society, by field fellowships, financial assistance, and other courtesies, enabled me to remain in contact with Chiricahua informants for a total of approximately two years during the period 1931–37. The Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago has made possible the preparation and publication of the study at this time.

127 Dr. Ruth Benedict, Dr. Regina Flannery, Mr. Paul Frank, Dr. John Gillin, Mr. M. R. Harrington, Dr. Jules Henry, Dr. Harry Hoijer, Mrs. Edith Rosenfels Nash, and Dr. Sol Tax, as members of the summer field party of 1931 of the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fe, or in other capacities, gathered Chiricahua data which they have generously put at my disposal. The materials of these co-workers have corroborated and extended my own information at many points and have been of

128 signal value throughout. In addition, Dr. Benedict and Dr. Hoijer have read and criticized the manuscript. The last named has also given inestimable assistance in the translation of Chiricahua terms. Others who have read the manuscript in whole or in part and who have furnished valuable suggestions are Dr. Edwin R. Embree, Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons, Dr. Russell M. Story, Mr. Laurence Stutsman, and Mr. Richard Waterman. Mr. Thomas Miles, photographer, and Audrey Waterman have aided in the preparation of illustrative materials. Professors E. F. Castetter and A. L. Hershey have helped me in the identification of plant specimens.

127 I am indebted to the Claremont Colleges Museum, the Denver Art Museum, the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fe, and the

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411 788 789 Now the bow and arrows (or the gun) are held against the chest, pointing first downward to the left, then upward to the right. At the same time face the east and pray. The weapon is next worked over the right shoulder, across the back, and down to the left hand.

Then the bow string is run through the mouth, and some of the "juice" of the string is sucked off. This is spit into the palm of the left hand, and crosses are made with the juice as before. Then the prayer is repeated.

778 [172] *Sacred places and summary.*—Besides the homes of the Mountain People, places with markings on the walls or on rocks may be considered sacred. "I have heard the old men tell of one cave which has the sun, moon, stars, and Mountain Spirits on the walls. . . . . They pray when they see this."

There are also wayside shrines and places of offering:

It is a pile of rock and stones about four feet high and eight feet wide. There are four holes in the center. The foundation is east and west, and the holes are running toward the east. You pick up a stone or leaves and hold this to the four [782] corners—east, south, west, and north—while you pray. Then you drop what you have in the hole. It's asking a blessing. They take this to be a holy place.

We were on a trip by horse and we came to one of these. The older people told us younger ones what to do. We were on horseback. We rode around the left side of the shrine and dropped the stone in and then came right back. We could have done it on foot too. I have heard ceremonial songs, a long time ago, mention these shrines. The name means that rocks churn about in this place.

[773] [777] One informant ascribed the origin of sacred shrines to the mythological figure, Kantaneiro, who "told the Indians to do this for long life and good luck."

These shrines are now used primarily as a place of contemplation and prayer by persons starting on a perilous trip:

There is a ceremonial place on that mountaintop. The people go there before they leave on a long or dangerous journey. It is believed that, if you go to the place and drop a stone on the pile already there or throw on a sprig of a juniper tree, you will return safely.

• 128 In a society where shamanism is so broadly construed, to be sure that every possible rite is represented in a collection, it would be necessary to have the perfect confidence of everyone in the community and to work with every adult. What has been [787] presented is admittedly only a sampling. Comments and stories pertaining to ceremonies obtained through supernatural experi-

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ences with Water Monster, Fire, Haze, Cyclone, Star, Moon, Sun, Cloud, Badger, Bat, Beaver, Mountain Lion, Wildcat, Bush Tit, Crow, Eagle, Hawk, Hummingbird, Yellow Warbler, and insects have been excluded because of considerations of space. But if the pattern, the range of power sources and ceremonies, and enough of the individual behavior to leaven the whole have emerged, the purpose has been achieved. It is interesting that, despite theoretical catholicity, the kinds of ceremonies obtained are, in practice, delimited by the concepts of disease and by the most vexing problems of existence. Thus, while power may be obtained from a wide variety of supernaturals, natural forces, animals, and the like, it is from a relatively small number of these (such as the game animals and the dreaded creatures which must be placated) that most rites actually come.

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SKEPTICISM

Accounts of ceremonies usually come from the shaman himself, from his relatives and friends, or from a patient he has successfully treated. Therefore, what is said will in most cases reflect the sentiments of the believer. But any member of the tribe can be, on occasion, a sharp critic of supernatural claims. This was so clear to one shaman that he told his audience: "Many of you people don't believe in what I'm doing. You think I'm a fake. I tell you to your faces that many of you will be willing to be this man when you see how I restore him."

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Criticism and skepticism are not likely to appear in stories of the acquisition and use of power, but they are revealed in casual conversations. For instance, when I asked an informant to identify another man for me, he described him as a shaman who had attempted to cure his wife of a swollen throat and had failed.

The attitude of respect for a basic pattern, tempered by doubt in regard to any individual claim which seems extravagant or unfounded, is illustrated in a "ghost" story:

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One man was telling me that when he was coming home from hunting, between dark and dawn, he saw two big eyes looking at him. He got pretty frightened. He didn't want to shoot at it because he didn't know what it was. So he ran way around and approached it from the other side. When he got there he

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576 551 was a boy my relatives made a bed for me wherever we stayed, and so I got this name.

576 551 476 I will tell you under what conditions I would call a man's name. If someone in my family died and I wanted help, I would do so. I would go to someone, call him by name, and say, "So-and-so, my wife has died and I need help." The person would then be under obligation to help me all he could. If a man who is in need comes to me and calls me, I would help him at once. I would give what I could.

No matter how poor a man is, if he is called by name, he will do something about it. It makes a person very sad if someone calls on him by name and he is not able to help. If a man calls my name and asks me for something valuable, I will give it to him, because I know he needs it badly. A man is willing to do anything for another if he calls him by name. But if a man asks for something valuable without calling my name, I would consider it a joke, for, if the man really needed it, he would call my name.

[755] [726] If a man is very sick and is sent to a shaman, and he is afraid the shaman will not take the case, he will call him by his name. Also in war or in the war dance the name is used because it is a case of emergency.[3]

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551 (using the name I had heard from my wife). My wife came and looked. 'Why, that's not his name!' she said. 'It belongs to his wife.' "

[128] Because names have been reduced to initials throughout this study, a number of them are included here in translation to indicate their quality. Most of these could be borne by either men or women; a few, such as "Thin Old Woman" and "Red Boy" could not, for they denote sex.

Names of Women	Names of Men
Stepping on Water	Heavy-Set
Round Nose	Going about with Head Bent Down
One Who Has Sucked	One Who Yawns
One Who Stays at Home	One Who Chews
Streaming Down	One Who Peels It
Sleepy	One Who Checks the Horse
Walks into White Man	Not Quite Enough
Yellow Eyelids	Blessing with Pollen
Buckskin Shaker	Little Rabbit
Thin Old Woman	Coyote Has Sores
	One Who Tears Up Things
	Broken Foot
	Little Face
	Belt

576 551 476 703 [3] An instance of the use of the name in an emergency plea is introduced in one of the myths. Wind had hidden from the earth after a quarrel with Lightning. The rain fell unhindered. Finally, the bees were sent to find Wind and induce him to return to his duties. When they located him, "they called the name of the wind, for it was an emergency, and they called his name to his face."

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society. But if a person doesn't take hold of the customs, if he cuts loose, if he doesn't treat other people right, he has no chance. Then others do not help him. He is alone. He is bound to come to a bad end and perhaps be killed. A person just has to observe certain things. They aren't laws—they are so strong we don't need laws. A person is supposed to keep certain customs.

These customs, the resentment evoked by their violation, and the rewards attending their faithful performance have constituted a large share of this narrative. Consequently, definitions of antisocial conduct have emerged in particular contexts. The measures taken to correct children who misbehave and the penalties attached to premarital sex adventures, rape, witchcraft, incest, perversion, and infidelity have received such treatment.

Nothing has been said thus far about theft. Most possessions are so obviously personal and easily identified, or so readily made or procured, that theft is rare. But food and buckskins are occasionally taken.

If a person is known to be a thief, the one from whom something is stolen will take measures of personal punishment according to the value of what was carried away. If the thief pays back something valuable, it is acceptable; or a relative of his might pay it back. The whole group did not have to be called together for this. It could usually be straightened out between the two involved.

Nothing much is done in case of theft. If the thief is caught, he has to give back the property, and he is talked about and disgraced.

Theft is uncommon enough so that anyone who is guilty of it is viewed as an aberrant. The identification of witches as "people who steal" will be remembered.[12]

The reaction to murder is of an altogether different character. What happens if the murderer is an alien has already been discussed. When he is a member of the tribe, the bereaved relatives are scarcely less bent upon satisfaction. They may insist upon his surrender and death, even though refusal of their demands leads frequently to armed conflict and a feud between the families. Though the slayer's kin may elect to defend him, if, before they can act, the relatives of his victim catch him and kill him, they have no just cause for grievance: "If your relative is murdered and you kill the one who did it, it is all right. His family have no comeback. There is no meeting about it; it is no group

[12] See p. 247.

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For instance, when I was a little boy someone was very sick, more dead than alive. He peeped into the underworld. But he didn't quite go there. He came back and told what he saw. He described the entrance to it as a huge sand pile upon which people are dropped and which they are trying to climb. But the sand gives way, and they don't get to this world again. The underworld, according to this man, lies just below our present world.

When a person dies, he goes under the ground. He goes through an opening in the ground which is cut out like a window. Someone leads him to it so he can't miss it. There is tall grass all around it to hide it and make it look natural. When this opens, there is a great pile of sand, shaped like a tepee or cone, stretching down beneath. It is a far distance from the top to the bottom. Once a person is down there, it is almost impossible to get back. Once he is through the gate it is impossible for the person who is really dead to come back to life; yet some who are just very sick or in a death coma, but who later recover, can come back and tell about it. This big sand hill closes off the underworld for those who are there. If you are in the underworld and succeed in getting to the top of it, you will get back to earth and life. But it is almost impossible. Many try it. They get up so far, and then the sand rolls down with them.

The conditions of life in the underworld are pictured by one who claims to have glimpsed the place during a serious illness:

The same ways we have here are carried on down there too. Those people dance, eat, and sleep. A person down there can actually feel another in the flesh. The people remain the same age as they were when they died. I saw people as they were when they went. That is the way it is always seen. There is no sickness, death, pain, or sorrow there. Those who were good and those who were bad are down there together. I saw them all mixed together. The same places, the same sacred mountains, the same ceremonies exist there as here. It is just as though everything is transferred to a different country.

Always the emphasis is upon the perpetuation of customary activities:

There is no death there, but lots of good things to eat. Affairs go on in the same way, but better. Those who are there just go on living happily. Life means more. It is always the same life, the hunting, the raids, and all, as in the old days. There are the same puberty rite, masked dances, and sacred mountains. In the underworld they are just like a big community, but they are split up into the same groups as on earth. Each person is with his own group. And each does the same things he used to do when he was on earth. As the story goes, if you were an arrow-maker, you are there making arrows. If you were a good hunter, you are over there hunting. If you were a great warrior on earth, you are out at war.

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And so, at the final point to which we have traced this culture, the underworld in which it has been faithfully projected, we take leave of the Chiricahua life-way.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

INTRODUCTION TO MESCALERO AND CHIRICAHUA APACHE CULTURES[1]

Well over one hundred plants used by Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache Indians for food, drink, and narcotics are listed and discussed in the pages which follow this introduction. These two tribes can be treated together in such context because of the close correspondences between them in most aspects of material and non-material culture, because they inhabited contiguous areas in the same general ecological region, and because the plants of the region utilized by them and the methods of preparation were remarkably alike for both peoples.

Little guess-work or uncertainty has been permitted in the material here presented. Trips were made into the field with Apache informants who found and gathered specimens of the plants formerly used by their people, and at this time the account of manner of utilization was recorded. The specimens were pressed, mounted, and later identified.

The list of names to be found at the back of this bulletin is by no means a complete inventory of the plants used by these Apache for the purposes we are considering. The work was conducted during a drought period and specimens of a number of plants were not obtained. Again, because of immaturity, or for some other reason, certain plants were never positively identified and the data pertaining to them have been excluded. Then too, the present Mescalero Apache

1. The first section of this bulletin (with the exception of the unit on geographical setting) has been prepared by Dr. M. E. Opler and the second section by Dr. E. F. Castetter. Unless otherwise noted, the facts concerning the preparation and use of plants by the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache have been gathered during the years 1931-34 in the course of ethnological field-work made possible by the University of Chicago, Columbia University, the Southwest Society, the National Research Council, Social Science Research Council, and the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fe. The authors are very much indebted to Professor A. L. Hershey, of New Mexico State College, who identified a number of the plant specimens; to Dr. Kirk Bryan, of Harvard University, for suggestions bearing on the geographical setting of these Apache; and to Dr. Harry Hoijer, of the University of Chicago, for his aid in the translation of Apache plant names. Thanks are due to many Apache informants, and especially to Charles Smith and Sarah Kenoi for assistance in the collection of the plants.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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114 126 [65] Then too, the present Mescalero Apache Reservation upon which both of these tribes are now housed is but a fraction of the former range of these natives. Since it was not practicable to traverse this large area with informants, many plants which they had described were never recovered and identified. Yet, despite these unavoidable gaps in the record, it was possible to gather and identify the principal wild food staples of these two Apache tribes and to offer a fair sampling of that aspect of their food economy which is based on wild plants.

• 128 Lists, whether they be of plants or other culture traits, and descriptions of one aspect of a culture only, are often very misleading. It is necessary to know something about other aspects of the culture, that the place and importance of plant lore and plant utilization may be appreciated. It is with the purpose of placing the Mescalero and Chiricahua use of plants for foods, drinks, and narcotics in context and in relation to the cultural whole that this sketch of Apache life is offered.

197 LINGUISTIC AND ETHNIC AFFILIATIONS

The Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache speak languages of the Athabaskan stock, one of the most widespread linguistic families of North America, whose representatives range from Alaska to the American Southwest. Athabaskan languages have been separated into three major linguistic groups, a Northern, a Pacific, and a Southern. The tribes which constitute the Southern Athabaskan division are the Navaho and Apache. Thus our Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache are most closely affiliated linguistically with the Jicarilla Apache, the Lipan Apache, the Kiowa Apache,[2] the

2. Because of their Plains-like material culture and their close association with the Kiowa Indians of the Plains, the Kiowa Apache have hitherto been treated apart from other Southern Athabaskan-speaking peoples. A tale, for which there is little substantiation, of a former home of these people in the Black Hills of South Dakota and of a close linguistic association between them and the Sarsi has been preserved in American anthropology since the days of Mooney. Recent linguistic work by Dr. Harry Hoijer, of the University of Chicago, has definitely established Kiowa Apache as a Southern Athabaskan language. A study of Kiowa social organization by Dr. J. G. McAllister (Doctoral Thesis, University of Chicago, 1935) gives evidence of a kinship system and social forms almost identical with those of the Jicarilla and Lipan Apache. See Opler (21).

3:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1946
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CHIRICAHUA APACHE MATERIAL RELATING TO SORCERY

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THE major anxieties of the Chiricahua Apache Indians of the Southwest relate to sickness and to sorcery. However, since much of the sickness is explained, directly or indirectly, in terms of the use of evil power (sorcery), the greatest consternation is caused by the likelihood of attacks through baneful supernatural means.

Chiricahua Apache do not like to discuss the topic of witchcraft. Some informants who were willing to talk about anything else, even the most intimate matters, simply refused to give information on this subject. There are a number of reasons for this. In the first place, to demonstrate too much knowledge of witchcraft places a person under suspicion of being a witch himself; too great a familiarity with the ways of those who "kill in secret" is considered a result of unhealthy interests or dubious practices. Also, an element of risk is involved. To speak freely about witches is to invite their attention and persecution, especially if the comments, as those of any decent Apache should be, are critical. Finally, the entire area of thought is so conducive to fear and so completely filled with unpleasant memories that the ordinary informant shrinks from exposing himself to the dreams and thoughts which are likely to follow such a discussion. Usually it is only when he is burning with indignation over some "evidence" of witchcraft or when he is in the midst of a feud with someone whom he is prepared to label a witch that the Chiricahua will express himself on this subject.

Thus the five accounts published here deal with an aspect of Chiricahua culture about which it is difficult to recover abundant material. They illustrate the Chiricahua Apache concept of the

3:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1946
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121 754 128 plasticity of supernatural power, namely, that power may be used for good or evil depending on the character and design of the shaman. Moreover, they suggest that, according to the Chiricahua view, evil may arise either from the malevolence of man or from the advantages which evil power offers man if he will agree to be the instrument of the forces of malice. But it is plain throughout that sorcery can operate only through man and that consequently evil cannot flourish as long as humankind resists it courageously.

The last episode is included, despite its modern elements, because it is a good example of what takes place when new symbols are substituted for old without a change in the basic thought and attitude pattern. [178]

754 787 539 1. *The Power of Sorcery Is Offered to a Chiricahua*

A friend told me he had a chance to be a witch. This was at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.[1] He was sleeping in his house alone at night. There was a window right by him. It was dark. He heard somebody get in and walk around every night. He'd lock up carefully, but he'd hear the window and door rattle and someone get in.

This thing appeared to him inside the house one night. An old woman and an old man came in naked and stood by his bed.[2] They were no persons he knew, just spirits. He was talking to them. While they were talking, a young boy and girl came in entirely naked and stood before him. And they told him, "We came over here to give you power to be a witch."

He says he talked to them. He said, "How am I going to be a witch?"

He told me later, "My friend, it's no wonder that when you suspect a witch you can't find out about him. It's right in here in the middle of the tongue. They told me to stick my tongue

[648] [198] [577] [291] [835]

[1] This story dates back to the time when the Chiricahua were held as prisoners of war at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, after being removed from their territory in the Southwest.

[2] Shamelessness, nakedness, and incest are associated with sorcery on the grounds that only witches would be guilty of such excesses.

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PRIMITIVE MAN

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NOTES ON CHIRICAHUA APACHE CULTURE

1. SUPERNATURAL POWER AND THE SHAMAN[1]

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THE basic concept of Chiricahua religion is that of diffuse supernatural power. This force floods the universe and renders even ostensibly inanimate objects potentially animate. However, in order to become effective, it must "work through" humankind. Its method is to utilize the animals, plants, natural forces, and inanimate objects familiar to the Chiricahua, as channels by means of which to get in contact with man. After this contact has been made, the power appears in personified guise and offers a ceremony or supernatural aid to the person approached. The variety of channels through which supernatural power can "speak" to the Chiricahua is suggested in these quotations from informants:

[1] These notes are an organization of source material which limitations of space made it impossible to include in the writer's Chiricahua ethnology, *An Apache Life-Way*, Chicago, 1941. It is hoped that they will add detail, nuance, and example to the data of that volume. While this article and others to follow in this series are written to be read as separate contributions, for the benefit of students of the Indians of the Southwest or those who wish to find additional material relating to the same general topics, cross-references to pages of the *Life-Way* on which comparable information appears are given in parentheses at the conclusion of a discussion of a point.

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